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Testimony on Spy Planes Shrouded Chapter of Co

By Murrey Marder
Washington Post Staff Writer

A heavily shrouded chapter of Cold War history has been reopened with new insights and controversy arising from recently declassified testimony of CIA chief Allen W. Dulles on spy plane operations against the Soviet Union in the 1950s and early 1960s.

Members of the U.S. intelligence community from the Dulles era were dismayed a week ago by news accounts about an allegedly undisclosed "CIA spy plane" shot down over the Soviet Union before the sensational U2 overflight of Francis Gary Powers May 1, 1960.

Dulles' testimony was given behind closed doors to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee May 31, 1960, during the international uproar about the U2 high-altitude reconnaissance jet plane and the collapse of the Paris summit conference in mid-May that year when Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev vented his outrage over the flight by the captured American pilot.

News reports last week based on Dulles' testimony said he disclosed that the United States lost "eight or nine" Central Intelligence Agency operatives on an earlier "spy plane" forced down in the Soviet Union.

State Department officials, after consulting with the CIA, told questioners that the reports were incorrect and that Dulles evidently was referring to the widely publicized loss of a U.S. Air Force plane and crew over the Turkish-Soviet border in 1958.

Many colleagues of Dulles similarly said he only was citing a known incident in 1958—a second one in which a plane was forced down across that frontier.

There were two problems with the explanations, however. The two groups were talking about different episodes, and neither fully meshed with Dulles' testimony. No one willing to speak about the affair can reconcile all of the discrepancies.

However, from information now available, it appears that in the tense U2 inquiry, Dulles deliberately scrambled his testimony to shield the identity of the then-supersecret National Security Agency, or unwittingly mixed up the two incidents. Possibly he did both.

As one associate recalled, a Dulles technique in maintaining an aura of certainty in his testimony was to "give quick answers to deflect questions and never appear hesitant or in doubt."

One encounter involved an Air Force C118 on a CIA courier mission with nine men aboard—three formally assigned to the CIA—and forced down about 100 miles inside Soviet Armenia in June, 1958. Five of the nine Air Force officers aboard descended by parachute, and four landed with the aircraft. All were released after 10 days of questioning.

In September, 1958, a second, deadlier incident occurred in the same region. An Air Force C130 with 17 military personnel aboard, on assignment to the National Security Agency, and packed with electronic eavesdropping gear for gathering intelligence, was shot down and crashed in Armenia.

Six bodies were returned by the Soviet Union, but 11 were never recovered. In 1962, after stormy dispute at the highest levels of the U.S. and Soviet governments, the 11 missing were officially "presumed dead," although efforts to recover the bodies were still being made in 1972.

That episode is recounted in a revealing book on the NSA, "The Puzzle Palace" by James Bamford. It reprints an extraordinary transcript of monitored conversations by Soviet fighter pilots during the attack on the C130. The transcript made public in 1959 by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, Allen's brother, in an unusual effort to force the Kremlin to account for the missing CIA members.

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around the vast periphery of the Soviet Union to pick up emissions of radar, ground communications and microwave signals.

Sometimes—accidentally or deliberately—they penetrated Soviet territory during what were called risky "fox and hounds" forays to set off Soviet air defense radar and in these instances American aircraft often were fired upon.

Allen Dulles, in his 1960 testimony, evidently overlapped both incidents. He said, "You may recall there have been several instances of planes that have strayed over Soviet territory which have been shot down. You recall the two incidents in Armenia and the Caucasus a few years ago, and there have been instances off the tip of Japan and some near Alaska."

He went on to say, "In one case we are still endeavoring to get back, you know—they haven't told us what happened to. I think, eight or nine of the crew of one of the planes that came down in the area of Caucasus."

"This was a civilian plane," Dulles said. "It was manned by employees of the Central Intelligence Agency, not by military personnel. They were in civilian clothes. It was an entirely civilian intelligence operation, and I was prepared to take the responsibility and document that responsibility."

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The Diaries Of a CIA Operative

By John Jacobs
Washington Post Staff Writer

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 4.—He was a "rock-em, sock-em cop not overly carried away with playing spook," according to a friend who knew him at the time. But the diaries and personal papers of the Central Intelligence Agency operative who ran "safe houses" in San Francisco and New York in which drug-addicted prostitutes gave LSD and other drugs to unsuspecting visitors tell a different story.

The diaries were kept by Col. George H. White, alias Morgan Hall, a colorful federal narcotics agent and CIA "consultant" who died two years ago. They reveal new details, including names and dates, about the safe house project, dubbed "Operation Midnight Climax," which was part of the CIA's MK-ULTRA program in the 1950s and 1960s to manipulate human behavior.

Curiously, White's widow, donated his papers to the Electronics Museum at Foothill Junior College, a two-year school set amidst the rolling Los Altos hills 40 miles south of San Francisco. The papers are a rare find for anyone interested in the espionage business and show White dashing about the world, breaking up narcotics rings in South America, Texas and San Francisco's Chinatown.

They also provide documentary evidence that White met to discuss drugs and safe houses with such CIA luminaries as Dr. Sidney Gottlieb, head of the Chemical Division of the Technical Services Division and the man who ran MK-ULTRA, and Dr. Robert V. Lashbrook, a CIA chemist who worked with LSD. Other high-ranking CIA officials mentioned prominently include James Angleton, C. P. Cabell, and Stanley Lovell.

Gottlieb and Lashbrook have been subpoenaed to testify Sept. 20 before a Senate subcommittee investigating the MK-ULTRA project.

"Gottlieb proposes I be CIA consultant and I agree," White wrote in his diary June 9, 1952. A year later it was confirmed: "CIA — got final clearance and sign contract as 'consultant'—met Gottlieb . . . lunch Napoleon's—met Anslinger."

Harry C. Anslinger was White's boss and the No. 1 man in the federal Bureau of Narcotics. It could not be learned from the diaries whether Anslinger knew that one of his top narcotics agents also was working for the CIA, in fact, was tape-recording and observing men to whom prostitutes gave drugs after picking them up in bars. But a July 20, 1953, entry by White strongly suggests Anslinger knew: "Arrive Wash.—confer Anslinger and Gottlieb re CIA reimbursement for 3 men's services."

These entries fit in with a 1963 internal report by then-CIA Inspector General Lyman B. Kirkpatrick about the MK-ULTRA project. That report, made public in 1975, discussed the safe house operations and the connection to the Bureau of Narcotics:

"TSD [Technical Services Division] entered into an informal arrangement with certain cleared and witting individuals in the Bureau of Narcotics in 1955 which provided for the release of MK-ULTRA materials for such testing as those individuals deemed desirable and feasible."

The report added that while "covert testing" was being transferred to the bureau, its chief would disclaim any knowledge of it.

"The effectiveness of the substances on individuals at all social levels, high and low, native Americans and foreign," Kirkpatrick wrote, "is of great significance, and testing has been performed on a variety of individuals within these categories."

In 1953, White rented a house at 81 Bedford St. in New York City's Greenwich Village under the name of Morgan Hall, the same one he used two years later to set up the Telegraph Hill apartment at 225 Chestnut St. in San Francisco.

His diaries show that Gottlieb and Lashbrook met him at the Bedford Street apartment. A June 8, 1953, entry said: "Gottlieb brings \$4,123.27 for 'Hall'—Deposit \$3.40." A Sept. 16, entry added: "Lashbrook at 81 Bedford—Owen Winkle and LSD surprise—can wash."

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It was an L-shaped apartment with a beautiful view of San Francisco Bay, and White, who kept pitchers of chilled martinis in the refrigerator, also had photos of manacled women being tortured and whipped.

"We were contacted by George White," Jones said in an interview. "It was a combined project of the CIA and Bureau of Narcotics . . . It was always referred to as the pad, never the apartment, and was modeled after Playboy magazine, 1955 . . . I heard about prostitutes. Feldman had acquired three or four to set himself up with cover."

White's diaries indicate that Gottlieb continued to visit, flying out from Washington several times a year at least until 1961. Another visitor was John Gittinger, a CIA psychologist who testified last month before Senate investigative committees that he met with "Morgan Hall" on numerous occasions to interview prostitutes about their drug and sex habits.

White retired from the bureau in 1965 and became the fire marshal at Stinson Beach, a resort area in Marin County, north of San Francisco. Among his papers is a Sept. 30, 1970, letter to Dr. Harvey Powelson, then chief of the department of psychiatry at the University of California at Berkeley. He told Powelson that he had worked for a "rather obscure department of the government (that would like to remain obscure)."

That obscure department, White wrote, "was then interested in obtaining some factual information and data on the use and effect of various hallucinogens, including marijuana, tetrahydrocannabinol and the then brand-new LSD. Tests were made under both clinical and nonclinical conditions on both willing and unwilling subjects."

FRONT PAGE

WASHINGTON POST

STATINTL

3 Area Colleges Used by CIA in Behavior Testing

By Bill Richards and John Jacobs

Washington Post Staff Writers

The Central Intelligence Agency used the University of Maryland and George Washington University for some of its top secret MKULTRA experiments in behavior control in the 1950s and 1960s, the agency has informed both universities.

The CIA also officially informed Georgetown University that it had sheltered some of the MKULTRA experiments. Georgetown's part in the project had been previously reported but not officially confirmed.

The three local universities were among 80 private and public institutions told in the past few days they had played parts—some unwittingly, some not—in the MKULTRA tests.

In a related development, the CIA yesterday made public under the Freedom of Information Act an additional 1,760 pages of documents pertaining to MKULTRA behavior control experiments.

These documents show that many high-ranking agency officials knew and approved at least the Georgetown part of the mind control program, including then-CIA Director Allen Dulles and senior aides Richard M. Bissell Jr., C. P. Cabell, Lyman Kirkpatrick, Lawrence Houston and Richard Helms. Helms later became CIA director.

The documents show that among things tested at Georgetown were substances to promote "illogical thinking and impulsiveness to the point where the recipient would be discredited in public," and substances to promote and prevent "the intoxicating effect of alcohol."

Another reference in the documents is to "substances which will produce 'pure' euphoria with no subsequent let-down," a type of permanent high.

The agency was also interested in "a knockout pill which can surreptitiously be administered in drinks, food, cigarettes, as an aerosol," to provide a "maximum of amnesia," and a substance, also to be administered surreptitiously, that would make it "impossible for a man to perform any physical activity whatsoever."

The documents also referred to tests of a "knockout" drug on terminally ill cancer patients at Georgetown.

The documents say the university administration was to be "totally unwitting" of CIA sponsorship of the assorted mind control experiments.

A CIA spokesman said yesterday that the agency had located all but six of the 80 institutions and companies involved in MKULTRA. "The others no longer exist," said the spokesman, who declined to give the names of any of the institutions or firms involved.

None of the three Washington-area universities notified could themselves supply details of the types of MKULTRA experiments in which they were involved. However, spokesmen for all three said they would take advantage of a CIA offer to supply additional details on request.

In its letter to University of Maryland President Wilson H. Elkins, which arrived last Friday, the CIA said: "While we recognize this may be unwelcome news we believe we have an obligation to advise you of this fact [MKULTRA participation] so that you may initiate such action as you deem necessary to protect the interests of your university."

In the letters of notification, the CIA noted that in some cases the MKULTRA institutions were aware of their participation in the program and had been while the experiments were taking place.

Elkins, who has headed Maryland since 1954, declined to comment yesterday on whether he knew of the MKULTRA experiments. Lloyd H. Elliott, who has headed George Washington since 1965, could not be

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Senate subcommittee investigating the MKULTRA program.

A long description of the proposed Georgetown facility suggested that "human" patients and volunteers would be available for experimental purposes. It said the agency could "recruit new scientific personnel" at the medical center, because agents working under cover there would be in daily contact with "the graduate school." The identity of the school was censured in the documents.

To further its interest in producing stress through chemical means, the CIA also proposed studying chemical agents on "advanced cancer patients." These means included a "K" or knockout drug, which one memo-writer described as a "good Mickey Finn."

Another MKULTRA project sought to understand "toxic delirium, uremic coma and cerebral toxicity from poisoning." Toward that end, chemical compounds were administered to cancer patients and to at least four diabetic patients, with plans for more tests to "study the effect on mental func-

Report Dulles Knew Of Plot to Kill Castro

By JOSEPH VOLZ

Washington, July 28 (News Bureau) — The late CIA Director Allen W. Dulles was briefed in advance in 1961 on a plot to kill Cuban Premier Fidel Castro and did nothing to shut it off, The News learned today.

Dulles, who was the brother of the late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, is the highest CIA official to have been directly linked to the abortive 1961 assassination plan. He also may be the highest member of the government tied to the program when a report by the Senate Intelligence Committee comes out next month. Sen. Frank Church (-Idaho), the chairman of the committee, has contended that not President or Cabinet member was involved.

CIA sources have told The News that both Dulles and his top aide, Air Force General C.P. Cabell, were briefed by Richard Bissell, who was then the chief of the agency's clandestine services.

The plot was to poison Castro. In another CIA-related matter,

a House Government Operations subcommittee will quiz former Assistant Attorney General Henry E. Petersen tomorrow on the case of a Thai CIA agent Puttaborn Khramkhruan, who smuggled 100 pounds of opium into the U.S. but was not prosecuted.

Subcommittee investigators have said that Petersen shows little enthusiasm for prosecuting the man after CIA officials argued that their operations would be compromised. U.S. Attorney James Thompson in Chicago dropped the prosecution.

In another development, Henry Dearborn, who was the U.S. consul in the Dominican Republic in 1961 when Dominican leader Rafael Trujillo was assassinated, will testify before the Senate Intelligence Committee tomorrow.